783 village itself, which must carry out the collective purification of *hlamba ndjaka*.

768 I must further mention a new custom which is spreading amongst the Ba-Ronga in the neighbourhood of Lourenço 587 Marques. When a widow objects to becoming the wife of the legal 609 inheritor, she goes home and adopts another husband. There 611 are plenty of men of other tribes, coming from Inhambane, Quelimane, Mozambique, who have no wife. They accept the proposal of the widow and go to live in her village. They are generally despised and called by the insulting name of *mugomo*, a Zulu word meaning an empty iron oil-tin. They are as hard and unfeeling as such a tin! If children are born, they belong to the family of the deceased husband, who paid the lobolo.

587 Sometimes also a widow chooses a nephew who is still a child. She gives him food as if she were his wife, but she lives with another man whom she loves. It even happens that she may choose a girl, the daughter of another wife of the deceased. (Annotatio 13.)[1]

C. OLD AGE AND DEATH

888 An old woman, having in some sort gone out from the sexual 782 community, enjoys some privileges which are taboo for her sisters who are still capable of childbearing. She is allowed to put on the clothing of the widows ; contamination of death is not so dangerous for her. She can proceed to the purification of the village, in certain cases of epidemic, and of the weapons of the warriors in war time (Part III). After the sacrifice of the black ram for rain, old women and small girls alone are allowed to eat the flesh of the victim.

462 But old and decrepit women are despised. As long as they 888 can still till their land, they are treated with consideration, but when they have lost all their strength and must be fed by their children, they are looked upon as troublesome burdens. I must say that, as long as she still has an atom of vigour, a Thonga woman goes to her field and tills it. During all her life time

1[See pp. 518-519 in these categories or in 111—Analyst]

584 825 777 784 you are there, or on the road, have nothing to do with it. The zebra is *mbalamberi*, an animal of two colours; moreover it has no horns. The same holds good for the giraffe. It has two colours, it has too long bowels. Psa yila! The reedbuck cries: "Dzoo." It is a witch: a mukoñwana must not eat it. For the same reason a sheep without horns is never given to bakoñwana.

7. When you go with women to the parents of your fiancée for a *shirwalo*, viz., to bring them beer, should one of the jugs fall to the ground, psa yila! Return home!

606 609 784 618 825 177 8. From a Thonga of the Maputju country I once heard that it was a great taboo in that district for a man to drink milk with his parents-in-law; let us say rather to *eat* milk, as Natives always take it in its solid form, i. e. curdled. This man was a Christian; he had given up many heathen customs and had gone so far as to partake of milk with his mother-in-law, but, the people all round were very much shocked at his conduct. Pushing my inquiry further, I heard that the milk taboo was observed not only with bakoñwana, but with all the inhabitants of the country who did not belong to one's clan; curdled milk was to be eaten only with people bearing the same family name. In other words, it is forbidden to eat milk *in any village where one can take a wife*. In a very interesting paper published in the *South African Journal of Science*, 1925, p. 481, Mrs A. W. Hoernlé says that this custom is wide-spread amongst many Bantu tribes of Central and South Africa, and explains it by the very intimate relationship which is thought to exist between human beings and cattle. The oxen are one with the clan to which they belong, and only members of that clan can partake of the milk of their cows. I never met with this idea in the other parts of the Thonga tribe, and I may remark that, as the Maputju clan is settled very near to the Zulus and has been more or less "zuluised", this custom might very well have been borrowed from its neighbours. Further researches will show whether the other Thonga clans have preserved what seems to be a very old Bantu idea, or at any rate traces of it. This is quite possible.

584 777 784 9. Do not build a hut for your wife before you have married her. Mankhelu says: "Even if you have plenty of money to lobola, if you make such a blunder your wife will be taken from you.

In Shiluvane, I was in a very favorable
582 177 609 648 position to judge of the real feelings of the Thongas. There were two tribes there, which had been living side by side for more than seventy years, tribes united by old friendship and military alliance, viz., the Nkuna clan of the Thongas and the Khaha clan of the Pedis. I did not see a single case of intermarriage between them. The difference of language could not account for the fact, because generally speaking, all the men could speak both Thonga and Pedi. When asked why they did not contract unions with the Pedis, the Nkunas answered: "Their customs are too disgusting for us." They meant more especially the freedom with which Khaha women commit adultery. Pedis would probably have made the same objection to the immorality of Thonga boys and girls. Whatever may be the cause, they have not intermarried up to this day.

582 On the other hand the Thongas are *exogamic* as regards the family. To understand properly these exogamic rules, let us classify the cases in the four following categories: Cases of absolute prohibition of marriage; of conditional permission; of unconditional permission, and cases in which marriage is recommended.

I. *Cases of absolute prohibition.*

582 605 As a rule marriage is prohibited between a tatana, mamana, rarana and a ñwana, and between bamakwabu.

On the father's side the prohibition is particularly severe. Amongst the Ba-Ronga, it is taboo for a boy to marry a girl when both can lay claim to a common ancestor in the paternal line. It seems that the rule is not so stringent in the Northern clans. According to Mankhelu, marriage is absolutely prohibited between all the descendants of a grandfather, viz., between first cousins. Between second cousins it is permitted conditionally, "by killing the family tie," and between third cousins it is allowed. "Third cousins" as Mankhelu says, "are *batlandlamani ba tolo*; they belong to families which were relatives yesterday. We are

588 607 called *the cat*, because it is like a cat which is put on their shoulders and scratches them. It scratches away the bukoñwana which prevented their marriage. (Viguet.) In this case it is the *shikoñwana* which is killed. So the taboo is removed and they can marry.

III. *Marriages permitted.*

582 609 618 Relatives from the eighth degree of relationship can marry unconditionally (Mankhelu). The choice of a boy is unlimited within the clan and even within the tribe. However, marriages into a *too far distant clan* are not recommended, according to Viguet, for the following reasons: 1) If the marriage were unsuccessful, the parents-in-law against whom the claim would be brought might run away with wife and oxen, and we should lose our herd. 2) If our oxen multiplied in the other clan, we might be tempted to go and make war on our parents-in-law in order to appropriate the cattle. So blood would be shed on account of our own oxen! This would bring shame upon us! Whilst if we marry amongst friends, even amongst remote relatives, should a quarrel occur, we shall try to settle it peacefully. These people are amongst those with whom we discuss in the hut. With strangers we discuss outside, on the square, and we occasionally fight with them and drive them away. So a difficulty can better be dealt with when our bukoñwana are people living close by.

IV. *Marriages recommended.*

582 609 Here we must take into account two different cases: some marriages are contracted on account of a kind of right of pre-emption, others on account of a right of inheritance.

1) Right of pre-emption.

There are amongst the relatives of a man certain women on whom he has a kind of preferential claim, or a right of pre-emption,

484 comes to ask for his property! What cunning displayed in confusing the real issue and evading payment! (1)

Travelling consequently plays a great part in the life of these tribes, and it is no wonder that it is subject to many rules and that many taboos must be observed on the road in order to succeed in these expeditions.

I may mention first the four following taboos.

484 A traveller must not *take salt* with him when he goes either to 777 pay a visit, or to hunt, or on a business trip, or else he will not 784 succeed in his object ; he must avoid *sharpening assagais* on the road ; this would rouse his enemies and "awaken thorns" on the path ; he must take care *not to pluck milala leaves*, those used for weaving baskets : it would be an insult to the people on whom he is calling. Let him cut these leaves when returning, or else he will find trouble in the village to which he goes, lamentations, shoutings, disgusting sights. When he finds on the road people occupied in *digging a grave*, he must go at once and help them for a while. If he neglects this duty, he will take upon himself the misfortune (titekela khombo). He will not succeed in his purpose. Should he be in the village when some person dies, he must take part in the purification of the inmates.

825 There are some kinds of animals which bring bad luck to the 777 traveller. In order to "keep the road clean" (basisa ndlela), he 484 must beware of the *mampfana bird*, a kind of crane called "the preventer of the journey" (sibaliyendjo (Ro) shitsinyariendjo (Dj). Should this bird fly across the road, with wide-spread wings, it would be enough to make the party return home : there is danger of death before them and the "mampfana" comes to warn them

609 (1) One day one of my neighbours, named Mandjia, was arranging to start for 784 Bilene to "follow his goods" (landja bukosi) ; he came and requested me to give him a letter. "What for? Your debtors do not know how to read and I do not know anything about your affairs." — "It does not matter," said he. "The important point is that I should have a paper in my hand. They will be afraid. They will think that I come from the White people with their authority." I did not like to refuse a small favour to a neighbour; on the other hand I was somwhat reluctant to help him in a none too moral plan, so I gave him a letter addressed to the Portuguese Intendant of those countries in which I stated that I knew him. It was a kind of pass... What use did he make of it? The fact remains that he came back with his oxen, and I believe the sight of the mysterious paper was not without influence in the transactions which ended in the recovery of his property!

576 In *addressing* an elder person, it is not becoming to call him
551 by his name. You will say to him: "Tatana," father, or "mamana," mother, as the case may be. Or you address him by the name of his father preceded by Ñwa, if it is a man, Mi, if it is a woman. So Mboza was called Ñwamasuluke, and Nsabula Migogwe. You may also say to a counsellor: "Ndjuna," to the chief: "Hosi," to the headman: "Numzana," to any grown-up man: "Wa-ka-Manyana," viz., man of such a clan, or descendant of such a man. Even speaking of an adult in the third person, you will not use his name but employ similar respectful expressions.
576 After the birth of her first child, the mother is generally called after
553 it, not so universally, however, as amongst the Ba-Sutho. So
551 Magugu, the wife of Spoon, became Mamana wa Modjadju, especially when spoken of in the third person. The names which are the most taboo are those of the mother-in-law, and of the "woman bought with my oxen." Speaking of a deceased person, one puts before his name the expression "*Matjuwa*," which corresponds to our: "late." In the Northern clans, the word *shira*, grave, is employed for "late".

576 The principle *salutations* are: *Shawan*: Be saluted, said by the arriving guest, to which you reply also: *Shawan*. *Hamban*: Good-bye or *Salan*: Remain, is said on leaving, and you answer: *Famban*: Go, or *Famban kahle* (Zulu): Go happily. Other greetings are employed only at certain times of the day: *Avushen*! a kind of locative, "at the dawn," equivalent to "Good morning." (Vusha means dawn). *Hi nhlekanhi*: It is midday! *A dji pelen*: or *a dji hlwen*: At sunset, properly: time when the sun sets. When retiring to sleep: *Yetlelan* (Ro.): Sleep! or *sibaman* (Dj.): lie on your belly; or *hi ta pfushana*: we shall say to each other good morning to-morrow! A curious salutation addressed to people working is: *A psi fen* (Ro.): Let it die. Its origin is as follows. When a man had killed a large animal, a hippopotamus or an antelope, his companions are in the habit of saluting him thus, hoping to share the meat with him. Now it is said to anybody working in the fields; it then means: "Let your work die." The
576 word "Nkosi," with which Natives salute white men, means
609 Chief in Zulu. They lift up their hand when pronouncing it. It

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

576 is not as if they were trying to raise their hats, as they do not wear
609 any. The explanation of the gesture is this, according to a Transvaal Native : the Boers taught black people to point to heaven, when saluting a white man, with this meaning : I compare you with the One who is above!

576 In the Northern clans, salutations are generally accompanied
201 by a clapping of hands (omba mandla). Men beat their hands against each other, placing them parallel to each other ; women do the same, placing them crosswise or at right angles. Amongst the Ba-Pedi this salutation with the hands is performed in a somewhat different manner ; when a Pedi enters the hubo, and wishes to greet a gathering of men, he claps his hands before his breast ; but when he salutes only one person, he bows down and claps his hands at the height of his knees, either on the right side or on the left. Amongst the Ba-Ronga, clapping the hands is a sign of thankfulness ; they say as they do so : *I khani mambo*, which probably means : "I dance before you, Sir." ("Mambo" 576 means chief in the Ndjao language.) In Djonga the proper word for thanking is *nkomo*. The etymology of this word seems to be : "I homu," "it is an ox." If anyone gives me a hen, he presents it to me saying : "Take my chick." When he brings a goat he says : "This is my hen." In both cases I answer : "Nkomo," "it is an ox!" The Thonga etiquette requires that the giver depreciate his gift and that the receiver magnify it! Another less polite way of thanking is this : *Yengetan*!, — "do it again," or *ni mundjuku*, — "and also to-morrow!"

576 Thongas used not to *shake hands* in former times. Now-a-days
177 the civilised Natives have adopted the European fashion, but this kind of familiarity is not approved of by the old folks, especially by the chiefs. Natives, when they shake hands, often do it in two movements : first they catch the four fingers and then slide on to the thumb. I do not know where they have 832 learnt to do this! *Kissing* was formerly entirely unknown. (A good mother would occasionally wipe her baby's nose, but this can hardly be called a kiss. When they saw the custom adopted by the Europeans, they said laughingly : "Look at these people! They suck each other! They eat each other's saliva and dirt!"

832 576 593 152 572 Even a husband never kissed his wife. On coming back from a journey, a man would hardly greet his wife; she would see him passing through the village, prepare food for him, and when it was cooked, she would come and salute him by presenting it to him. But if he has a good friend in the village, and if this friend sees him coming back after a long absence, their meeting will be much more touching. The friend will go to the main entrance of the village, exclaim: "Ha-Ha," take his parcel from his hands, put his arms round his shoulders (a ku mu buso hi mandla), remove the perspiration from his face, and pat him gently, saying: "Your ancestor-gods have their eyes open! They have worked well! They have brought you back."

574 609 622 *Hospitality.* When strangers enter a village, men sit on the *bandla*, and women go further on and sit on the *hubo*; they remain quietly there till the people of the village come and salute them (losa). Should the inhabitants delay too long, the visitors move on, saying: "These people are not good." But this is very rare. Generally the master of the village comes to them, inquiring who they are, whence they come, where they are going, and asks them: "Do you wish to spend the night here?" If they say: "Yes," the headman will empty one of his huts by putting two of his wives together, and will himself sleep with the visitors. Should there still be food, he will give them some. If not, he says: 574 "*Ndlala*!" "Starvation!" After a little while, a mat is unrolled 609 and the official ceremony of "djungulisana" takes place. This is a 622 very amusing custom. The headman sits together with his hosts and enquires about the news of their home. One of the 203 visitors begins in a monotonous tone and pours forth volubly 195 a flow of words with a peculiar cadence and almost without taking breath. His interlocutor interrupts him after each sentence, with "Ahina, hina," that is to say "Indeed, indeed!" till the whole skein is unwound; the two men finish with a longer "*Hina*," the inhabitants of the hut adding an emphatic "*khani*," a heartfelt "thank you;" then the master of the village begins to relate his own news in the same tone. It is impossible to 574 imagine anything more curious than this "mélopée" in two parts. 609 This law of hospitality is general all over the tribe. Should

574/609 travellers be refused the customary hospitality in a village and incur misfortune later on, the chief will make the people of that village responsible and they will have to pay a fine. In Gungunyana's country, warriors were sent to plunder such a village. Lack of hospitality, however, is not considered as a taboo (yila), because "it does not kill;" it is a bad action (biha).

Now-a-days, customs are beginning to change; hundreds of young men (magaisa) coming from the towns after working there, pass through the country, and it would be impossible to put them up and feed them all. They sleep on the *bandla* and cook food for themselves, occasionally buying some mealies or a hen from the inhabitants. Moreover they have plenty of money and they can pay!

609 It must also be added that, if they dispense hospitality liberally,
618 the Thongas can be very hard on people who do not belong to
761 their special clan. Feelings of humanity are sometimes strangely deficient. I heard of a boy of the Manyisa district who had fallen down near the lake of Rikatla, unable to proceed further on account of a bad wound received while working on the railway at Lourenço Marques. Nobody took pity on him because he was of another clan, and he would have died there if a Christian woman, named Lois, had not received him in her village and nursed him. Fear of death and its contamination may partly explain this want of compassion for strangers.

784/643/677 As already mentioned, it was formerly taboo to enter the village square wearing boots. These boots consist of sandals made by the hunters for their long trips through the thorny bush. They were not allowed on the hubo. A subject was not permitted to sit on a mortar or on anything else; the chief alone could do so, and it was considered a sign of pride to sit on anything but the bare ground!

609 The habit of offering a concubine to passers-by is never met
177 with amongst the Rongas as it is in other tribes. Now-a-days dissolute women may offer themselves. But they have learnt
574 from white men this new kind of immorality.

On the fate of the Thonga Village, see Practical Conclusions. V.

551 618 576 edged sword which "cuts" disputes brought to the capital. (The Khosa chiefs were reputed for their wisdom in deciding judicial or political matters.)

Hlabi: Ba Nhlabi ba ku bengwa, Nhlabi ya Makamu ya Mavuse ya nkoñwana, — The Hlabi who are hated, sons of Makamu, of Mavuse, of the calf (?)

Hlengwe: Shikobela sha Matsheme, Tshauke wa Matsheme (names of old chiefs).

551 618 643 576 *Tembe*: Mulao Ngolanyama madlaya a nga di, makhama a nga di, a dlayele bahloti: — Mulao (son of Tembe ?), the lion which kills and does not eat, the hawk which kills, it kills for the hunters, viz., it is so well fed itself, so rich that it can leave the meat for others. Such a sentence was pronounced in former times by subjects entering the royal kraal, crawling on their knees, when they wished to receive food from the chief.

Nhlanganu: Ba ku hlomula fumo, ba renga ndlela: — Those who unsheath the sword in order to buy the road, (the right of passing through a foreign country) (1).

551 In addition to these laudatory phrases of clans, each individual has his own sentence or sentences by which he praises himself or by which others praise his qualities. They are specially common in the case of boys, but even girls possess them. In the case of chiefs, such praises are much longer. See for instance the praise of the Nkuna chief Muhlaba (Part III, Ch. III, III).

* * *

171 If we cross the plain of the Sabi and reach the Drakensberg, we find that all the Pedi tribes dwelling together with the Thongas in the Leydenburg and Zoutpansberg district, possess laudatory

551 609 (1) This custom of praising the various tribes in such terms is so familiar to the Thongas that they have invented similar expressions for the white people. The Portuguese are: Ba ka nkofaxmalo, — the Sons of Never mind, because they seem to the Natives to be somewhat careless or indifferent. The English are: Bana ba Nhlulelki, a hluleka ku hleka, a tiba ku lwa, — the sons of the one who cannot, he cannot laugh, he knows how to fight! Perhaps Natives consider them, on the contrary, somewhat too corrupt, too keen!

643 766 701 ation of his successor. All the regiments of the army are summoned, together with groups of warriors delegated by foreign clans. The mourning ceremonies are first performed. (See later on). Then, at the end of the afternoon, says Mankhelu, the great counsellors send a herald to the circle of warriors. He shouts: "Khaula!" viz., "keep silent!" The new chief comes out of the hut and stands alone in the midst of the circle. "Do you see him," says the herald... "It is the chief!" — "Who is he?" ask the warriors, who wish to know his new name. — "It is Muhlaba Dabuka," he answered, when the present Nkuna chief was proclaimed. Formerly his name was Shikuna. Now he adopted this new name, borrowed from one of the Ngoni chiefs of Bilen. "He who wants to fight, can fight," he adds. This is an invitation to those who wish to protest against the coronation to state the fact plainly. When Muhlaba was proclaimed, the Masakomo family left the capital in anger, as they thought they were deprived of their right. (See later on.) Such an occurrence is not rare owing to the irregularities which so frequently take place in the succession.

If the chief is still a child he is carried on a shield, or put on the roof of a hut, so that everybody may see him.

In the Ronga clans the ceremony is conducted as follows. Let me describe it with all the details supplied by Tobane.

643 648 First of all sacrifices are made to the gods to ask that this ceremony may pass off quietly, happily, without quarrelling, and then the date is fixed. Invitations are sent to the surrounding little kingdoms, or at least to all those who are on friendly relations with the tribe. For instance, supposing the installation to be that of the chief of Mpfumo, invitations would be sent to Maputju, Tembe, Matjolo, Nondwane, Ñwamba and Shirinda. Manyisa and Ntimane are regarded as "being of a different mind" (moya muñwana), and "good will only reaches as far as the river Nkomati," to give a literal translation of the expression used by my informant; this means that relations with the more distant countries are hardly those of even ordinary civility. The warriors of the invited tribes assemble, in greater or smaller numbers; sometimes only a few delegates attend, but they do not proceed at once to the capital. Etiquette requires that each one should

643 609 first go to the Mpfumo Counsellor, who now acts as an Agent General for his own tribe; they are well received by him and fed while waiting for the day of the coronation.

643 701 When it is known that all the foreign military contingents have arrived,[2] then the Mpfumo army is also assembled and all together march to the capital. The royal family council, composed of uncles and the older relatives of the new chief, meets in a separate hut. The presiding member opens the proceedings as follows: "Si hi humeliliki: si hi humililiki, hi fanela ku beka hosi kutani! (See what has happened! This having happened to us we must install a new chief!)" The rest approve and reply according to etiquette. On an immense open space, all the warriors form a circle (biya mukhumbi). Battalion after battalion 643 takes up its position within this living enclosure. An opening is 714 left in this otherwise perfect circle, and through it enters the bodyguard, composed of young men of the same age as the new chief, with the chief himself hidden in their midst, wearing his full military uniform and accoutrements: ostrich feathers on his head, strands of hair from cow's tails on his biceps and the calves of his legs, etc.

643 701 A specially appointed functionary, the bearer of the chiefs (mutlakuli wa tihosi), penetrates into the middle of the bodyguard and raises the young chief on his shoulders in the presence of the assembled armies. The great counsellors, the secondary chiefs, and all the young men of the royal family, then accompany the bearer of the king and with him march round the inner side of the circle of warriors, shouting as they go:

Hosi hi leyi! Dlayan! Dlayan!
Behold the chief! Kill him! Kill him!
A ku na yimbeni.
There is no other than he!
Hi tiba yoleyi.
We recognise none other.
Dlayan! Lwa nga ni yimpi!
Kill him! if there be any here who can raise an army (to oppose him).

To these shouts of defiance the several battalions reply consecutively as the procession passes them: "Bayete! Bayete! Ndjao!" These words form the royal salute, to which all the independent chiefs are entitled (1).

2 [For the coronation of a chief — Analyst]

643 chiefs are entitled (1). The *elevation and the presentation* ended,
535 the next proceeding is the *gila* or war dance. The heroes of the army (hatlhabani ba hosi), and the young men of blood royal rush one after the other into the enclosure brandishing their weapons, jumping as high as they possibly can, imitating acts of prowess on the battle field and simulating the transfixion of their enemies. The *gila* continues until the cry is heard : "Ye-yi, yé-yi, ye-yi." This murmuring sound uttered by the whole army marks the end of the jumping, and all re-form into line. All the shields must now touch one another, forming an immense unbroken circle, and then comes the *guba*, the intonation of the
643 solemn chant which is at once the principal patriotic song of the
533 tribe, the coronation hymn, the dirge of mourning, the war-song,
539 and the sacred melody par excellence :

Sabela ! Sabela nkosi ! Ji ! Ji !
Answer us ! Answer us, O chief ! Ji ! Ji !
Si ya ku wela mulambo wakulu wa ku nkosi.
Yes, we will cross the great river, the river of the chief.

This chant, which is in the Zulu language, is difficult to understand. The soloist commences with : "Sabela nkosi" which may be translated "Obey the chief ;" but the meaning would rather seem to be : "Reply to us, chief!" and, if taken in this sense, these words would be a request made by the army

643 (1) The word *Bayete* is said to be of Zulu origin and to convey the following
609 meaning : bring chiefs enemies hither and destroy them ! *Ndjwa* means lion. The
576 warriors employ these terms to extol the power of their chief and, at the same time, to express their allegiance to him. There is a modern tendency to use this solemn salutation in a more general manner ; for instance it is addressed to the Whites and not only to those in authority, but more or less to every one, even, in certain cases, to missionaries ! I always remember my arrival at the village of Shiviule, where I went to call on the chief Mahuhuru, then unknown to me. I arrived at the gate of the kraal accosted on account of the little donkey and surprised of two young men who were there, where I could find the chief. " Bayete ! " was the salutation I received and there was certainly nothing very regal either in my appearance or my " mount. " One of these young men proved to be Mahuhuru himself ! *Bayete* is also frequently used in acknowledging a gift from a superior and would then be merely the equivalent of " thank you. " In Gaza, Gungunyane would not allow Bayete to be said to any one but himself. All the petty chiefs of the Ba-Ronga insisted on their royal salutation and the Ngwai king could not put a stop to it, as they were direct dependencies of the Whites and did not derive their authority from him.

1 [For the coronation of a chief -- Analyst]

262 143 527 which is not eaten, and rub their faces with it. But *no religious ceremony is performed*. It is the same for the *fuma*, a paste made with the contents of the kwakwa fruit, a kind of Strychnos very similar to the nsala, but of a different taste. The ceremony was even more simple than with the almonds ; the chief used to send a little of this paste to each village saying : "Let this be the first-bite you swallow : the new year has come!" (Luman, ku tlhese nguba.) No powder was used in connexion with it. The magical drug was used, on the other hand, when the luma of pumpkin leaves took place.

II. *The luma of the Kafir corn.*

262 643 782 769 796 The great, the official luma, amongst the Ronga clans, is that performed for the Kafir corn (mabele). The great wife of the chief grinds the first grains of Kafir corn reaped in the fields. She cooks the flour in a pot and pours into it some of the royal powder kept in the calabash, so as to make a *shimhimbi* (See page 42). The chief takes a little of the food and offers it to the spirits of his ancestors, at the main entrance of the royal kraal. He prays to them in the following terms : "Here has the new year come! Precede us, you gods, and luma, so that, for us also, Kafir corn shall help our body, that we may become fat, not thin, that the witches may increase the corn, make it to be plentiful, so that, even if there is only a small field, big baskets may be filled! (Nguba hi yoleyi! Rangan ñwine, mi luma, ñwi Psikwembu! Na hine, mabele ma tjhama amirin yeru psinene, hi kuluka hi nga wondji. Abaloyi ba yandjisa, psi tala ngopfu, nambi shi shiiñwanyana shi shiiñwe, a ku tale tingula!)"

262 643 796 554 609 After this religious ceremony everyone luma in turn, the chief first, then the sub-chiefs, then the counsellors, then the warriors who have killed enemies in battle, then the headmen of the kraals who have all been summoned to the capital. Should one of the headmen be prevented from coming by illness, his younger brother will not precede him. He will bring him the *shimhimbi* in a leaf ; the elder will take it, and, after him, the other brothers. Women do not eat the magic powder. Neither do strangers,

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

262 643 609 796 even those who are settled in the clan. They have their own medicine and luma for themselves, though they must not do it before the chief of the country.

III. *The luma of bukanye and the great national feast.*

137 273 796 824 The most characteristic of all these ceremonies connected with the first fruits is the luma of bukanyi. Tobane has given me a circumstantial description of this feast and it deserves to be reproduced in all its details, as being a typical manifestation of Bantu national life.

The *nkanye* (1) is a large tree, one of the finest in the country. Its botanical name is Sclerocarya caffra (Sond); it is generally known amongst the English of Natal as the Kafir plum.

It bears fruit of the size of a greengage, which when ripe is a beautiful golden yellow and has a strong flavour of turpentine and a penetrating odour. It is a dioecian tree, the male bearing bunches of flowers while the female has single flowers. The Natives are quite aware of this; they cut down the male plants but take care to keep a few in each district to fecundate the female. The fruit — the kanye — begins to ripen in the month of January and falls to the ground. The odour is perceptible everywhere, and it is then that the principal men of the country approach the chief and say to him: "The time has come to luma."

In the luma of the bukanye it is easy to discover four consecutive ceremonies:

a) The luma of the gods and of the chief.

262 782 273 796 The first ripe makanye are gathered and pressed at the capital, and the sour liquor thus obtained is poured out on the tomb of the deceased chiefs in the sacred wood; they are invoked to bless this new year and the feast which is about to be celebrated.

(1) Nkanye, plural minkanye, is the tree in question. Kanye, plural makanye, is the fruit of this tree; bukanye is the drink made from this fruit. In the same way the wild apricot tree is called mphimbi, plural minphimbi. The fruit himbi, plural mahimbi; the drink made from the fruit, bukimbi.

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644 334 *khalombane* is more elongated and has no legs. Its sound is high and piercing, while the tone of the *muntshintshi* is deep and low. The music proper of this dance is provided by the *bunanga*.

II. *The Bunanga*.

533 644 This is the regular *band*, which is met with in every royal clan. The word comes from *nanga*, trumpet (pl. tinanga). But the trumpets composing the bunanga are not the common pierced tibias of goats used by the herdboys. They are larger horns of the mhalamhala (Hippotragus Niger), or of the mhala (Zulu impala), pierced at their base in such a way that they produce different tones. These instruments are made by specialists, (it was Nwamatshomane in Nondwane), so as to form a kind of orchestra (simo) composed of ten instruments. To play them is a veritable art. The players stand round the two drumbeaters. The big drum gives the time : when it beats slowly, "tu-tu-tu," the ten musicians must dance in a ring, viz., they must march after each other, playing, making certain grimaces and gesticulations. When the drum beats more slowly and more softly, they must retire in a line and march slowly. The drum quickens the time : then they come to the centre once more and dance in a ring, quicker and quicker. The executants follow each other in a given order, the largest and deepest horn being in front, the smallest and highest toned one at the end of the group. Sometimes three or four orchestras perform at the same time (1).

The bunanga is an old Ronga custom and is very picturesque indeed. As for its musical importance, I shall refer to it again in Part V.

633 609 (1) I remember having heard the bunanga practising in the various sub-clans of Nwamwass in 1891, as each sub-chief had his own. They were preparing to go to the capital to mourn Maphanga, whose death had just been announced. I saw the bunanga performing its best melodies before Lord Selborne, when he came to pay a visit to the Portuguese settlement of Manikwass in 1908. The Administrator had organised a "batonga" for him (the name given by the Portuguese to these native dances), and the warriors of Nwamwass did their best to interest the White Chief.

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III. *The shipalapala.*

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Speaking of the musical instruments of the Court, I must also mention *the trumpet of assembly, shipalapala*, which is the recognised means of summoning the subjects to the capital. The sound of the big drum, though heard at a great distance, cannot reach to the confines of the country. So, when the chief wants his men to assemble at once, he uses the *shipalapala*. This is a horn of mhalamhala, or of nyala or of phifa antelope, the sound of which is like mpu-ù-u (with an accent on the second syllable). The envoy of the chief runs to the capital of a sub-chief, blowing all the time. When he has reached that village, he transmits his message and a young man starts at once with the shipalapala of the sub-chief to another district. So, in a short time, notice is given to the whole tribe to assemble.

IV. *Visitors.*

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When a stranger passes through the capital, he must sit down outside the central square and at some little distance from it. Some one will come and inquire what he wants; he replies: "I come from such and such a country, and I wish to pay my respects to the chief." Then the counsellor or "Agent General" charged with the affairs of the traveller's country will come and converse with him and announce him (bika) to the chief, who will receive him affably and possibly assign him a hut to sleep in, in case he wishes to stay the night, at the same time providing him with food. Should the chief be particularly well disposed towards his guest, he will kill a calf or even an ox for him; and he, on his return, will speak in praise of the hospitality he has received, saying: "The chief made me share his reign," literally: "He made me reign, (a ndji fumisile)." Such is the procedure when the respective countries of guest and host are adjoining and the tribes

643 609 574 on good and friendly terms. Should relations between them be at all strained, or should war be imminent, all the roads would be closed and no one allowed to enter the capital.

V. *The Kondza custom.*

641 643 The chief is also approached by those who may wish to become subject to him, to be naturalized ; this is called *kondza*, from a Zulu word conveying this meaning. The chief will assign to the new *nandja* a dwelling place, and he will be incorporated in the nation without further ceremony. By this kondza, he binds himself to pay the taxes. (See the story of Mutipi. *Les chants et les contes des Ba-Ronga*, page 164).

Naturalised strangers, however, do not eat the first fruits (luma) with the same drug as the people of the country. They have their own medicine and take it according to their own rules. They are however forbidden to luma before the chief of their adopted land (p. 397).

VI. *Diplomatic relations.*

648 202 726 224 We have seen that these are very carefully conducted, each of the neighbouring clans having one counsellor entrusted with the care of its affairs. In case of war, friendly clans frequently make alliances (shinakulobye). They send messages to each other, or they have special means of communicating news in case of war. Supposing, for instance, Nwamba and Nondwane should fight against Matjolo. They put two traps at their common boundary, on the side of the road, one on the territory of Nwamba and one on that of Nondwane. These traps consist of a rod bent by a string fastened to the ground. Should the army of Matjolo have made an invasion during the night into Nwamba territory and put the people to flight, the men of Nwamba

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put forward in short sentences, generally interrogative, by one of the counsellors. The assembly listens in silence until the mover concludes with an energetic "Ahina," being the equivalent of "That's all right." (See p. 354.) Another individual elaborates the matter further, saying: "Did you not hear what he said? He said so and so." This is the way of seconding the motion. The debate proceeds, and, little by little, objections are brought forward and the assembly comes to a decision.

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Phot. A. Burd.
An habitué of the Nkuna Court.

It often happens that the chief does not say a word; when he see that the counsellors are agreed and if he has no objection, he merely shows his assent by nodding his head. So the decision is arrived at without his intervention and without any vote being taken. The voice of the majority has not been ascertained by any show of hands, but it is generally perceived by intuition in a very remarkable way, and grave counsellors, who have been squatting in a circle all through the discussion, jump to their feet and disperse, knowing perfectly well what has been decided. If however the counsellors do not agree, they put the matter into the hands of the chief, and the chief, after having listened to the arguments pro and con, "cuts the matter" (tjema mhaka) by some short sentences, after which everybody must shout the royal salutation: "Bayete!"

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When there are two parties present, the debate is conducted according to other rules. For instance, if a stranger wishes to have speech with a chief or to proffer some request, he is generally accompanied by a counsellor. The chief, together with some of his men, receives him either in the hut, if the affair must

be secret, or on the square, if there is no objection to making it public. The chief and his men sit on one side, the visitor on the other; if he wishes to conform strictly to all the laws of etiquette, he will first explain the matter to his own Agent General, who will communicate with the chief's special counsellor, repeating the words of the visitor, sentence by sentence; the counsellor will, in his turn, communicate with the chief, again telling him the whole story, as if he had not heard a word of it before. The affair will thus have passed through three hands and the answer should, in due formality, be given through the same channels. These precautions, which seem eminently superfluous, even somewhat ridiculous, to a person unacquainted with Bantu etiquette, evidently proceed from the fact that there are no stenographers or secretaries to furnish any written record of the proceedings, so that it is necessary to have as many witnesses as possible and that these should thoroughly understand the matter under consideration.

II. *Judicial Cases.*

1) Sense of justice.

As has often been remarked, the Bantus possess a strong sense of justice. They believe in social order and in the observance of the laws and, though these laws are not written, they are universal and perfectly well known. The law is the custom, that which has always been done. The old men, the counsellors and more particularly the counsellors of the capital, are those who can speak authoritatively. But everybody is welcome in the *hubo*, where matters are discussed; even a stranger can take part in the discussion. "No one is excluded, if he speaks rightly; only fools, those who do not know anything" (Mankhelu).

This participation in the discussions of the hubo has developed the sense of law to a wonderful extent amongst the Bantus. They are all born advocates and judges, and take a great interest in this business! No wonder therefore that the Thonga vocabulary

726 and Mahazule, who had taken refuge in Gaza, during July-August 1895.
175 Nine regiments, representing a large effective force, were to start from Manzimehlope, the country beyond the Nkomati River; three of these were to ascend the left bank of the river, to cross it in the neighbourhood of Komati-Poort and to enter Swaziland, the Ngoni chief having made alliance with the Swazis. The other regiments were to cross the Nkomati to the West of the Sabie, and thence to go southward by Moveni. The remaining three, with whom were incorporated Zihlahla and Mahazule, were to ravage Shirindja, Ntimane and Nondwane, passing about one hour's march to the West of Lourenço Marques, exterminating the inhabitants of Matjolo (allies of the Whites), whose retreat to the town would be thus cut off... The nine regiments were to effect a junction at a place called Nkobotlwene, to the South of the Bay, where the forces of Gungunyana would fraternise with those of Maputju, with whom they were on good terms. For the space of seven months, tens of thousands of these warriors were to overrun the country
726 and to annihilate all the tribes opposed to Gungunyana. The chief
609 would not massacre the Whites, nor would he attack their town: he
175 calculated on rendering them powerless by depriving them of the assistance of their Black allies, and expected them thus to sue for peace on honourable terms! Such, at least, was the plan of campaign which transpired after Gungunyana had been made prisoner, in the centre of his own country of Gaza, by a party of about forty White soldiers! The whole thing culminated in a single day's skirmish in the Ntimane country. The petty chiefs quarrelled amongst themselves; only a few hardy warriors dared to cross the Nkomati and slaughtered some women at a short distance from the outpost of Chinabane. Finding themselves discovered, they at once recrossed the river and made off to the Northward.

578 The principal causes of the incapacity in military matters so noticeable amongst the Blacks during the war of 1894-1896, are doubtless the *internal jealousies* between the tribes and also, it must be said, the mysterious dread inspired by the White race, their artillery and their superior discipline.

726 The feeling of mistrust existing between Matjolo and Nwamba,
175 Nondwane, Zihlahla and Shirindja, also explains the terrible *panics*
703 which occured during the military operations. On several occasions the Native forces were subject to panics which might have entailed the most serious results. As an instance I relate the following, which nearly led to the partial destruction of the Matjolo army. The Matjolo

551 The really Native names very often begin with the prefix *mu* which is the personal singular prefix, (Musongi, Muzila, Mungutana, Mukentshe), or *Ñwa* conveying the idea of "son of" (Ñwamitwa, Ñwamashwele Ñwatjubula), or Nya used in the same sense, (Nyakubasa, Nyanise, Nyathi, probably of Zulu origin), or *Ma* which is also a personal prefix, (Manabe, Matende, Mathandana, Makhangala, Makasana, etc.). The prefix *Mi* means "daughter of," and is frequently met with (Misilana, Mintlohen, Mindinyana, etc.). As a rule it is employed only in names of women.

The prefix *Shi* which generally denotes things, objects, and has a neuter significance, is very often found in Ronga names. It is also a diminutive prefix, especially when the word ends in *ana*. So Shiribyana, a very common name, means a small stone (ribye); Shigidana, Shirombe, Shindjubi, etc. belong to the same class.

551 567 Some very curious names begin with the prefix *ba*, the pronoun of the third person plural. These are common amongst girls, generally of Chopi origin, who were slaves of the important Native women of Lourenço Marques and sold by them as concubines. For instance Bamuyeyisa means "they defy her," Bamusonda (Zulu), "they hate her," Batjhamahayena "they gossip about her," etc. In calling themselves by these names the girls express their bitterness.

551 But a great number of names have no prefix at all and often no meaning.

Nicknames are frequent amongst the Thongas and often entirely supplant the regular name. There was in Rikatla an old Mbekwa whom everyone called Nxoko. On inquiring into the origin of this curious name I was told the following story. One day Mbekwa was very happy and expressed his contentment by the exclamation; "Nxoko" (x here denotes a peculiar click of the tongue against the cheek). This interjection was received with favour and he employed it henceforth to manifest his pleasure on other occasions. He even made a regular verb of it, saying: "I go to nxokela in such and such a place," viz. "to enjoy myself there." The word was so fascinating that he was named after it, and I should not be surprised if it were incorporated into the current language, which is enriched every day by new descriptive adverbs like nxoko. (See my Thonga Grammar, p. 84 and Vol. II.)

551 609 Nicknames are more especially applied to white people, as Natives fail to catch their true names. These are very cleverly chosen, being often a verbal description of the chief physical or mental characteristic

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551 of the white man. M. Torre do Valle has given a list of nicknames
609 of the merchants and other inhabitants of Lourenço Marques in his Diccionario Shironga-Portuguez. It is well worth consulting, and the only thing wanting is a photograph of the white man and an explanation of the name; it would be a splendid illustration of Native wit!

551 So far we have spoken only of *personal* names and nicknames. But,
576 beside these, every man possesses his clan name, or surname, viz., the
618 name of the first of his known ancestors. Grown up men prefer being addressed by this name, which is *shibongo*, viz. the name by which they are "glorified." This subject is treated in Part III (p. 360).

APPENDIX III (See p. 98)

Unnatural Vice in the Johannesburg Compounds.

938 In January 1915 one of my colleagues passing near one of the
548 Johannesburg Compounds, saw a big company of Natives singing and
588 walking in the direction of another Compound where a great dance was taking place. Amongst them there were a number of women. My colleague asked his Native evangelist how it was possible that so many women should be walking about in that part of the world, where the feminine element is very small. The man told him: "They are not women! They are *tinkhontshana*, boys who have placed on their chests the breasts of women carved in wood, and who are going to the dance in order to play the part of women. To-night when they return to their dormitories, their 'husbands' will have to give them 10/, and only on that condition will the tinkhontshana remove their breasts and comply with the desire of their husbands." I sent for this evangelist who knew everything about the inner life of the Compounds and asked him about it; this is the information I received:

Unnatural vice (bukhontshana) has become a regular institution in the Compounds. The word *nkhontshana* seems to come from the Ngoni, a Zulu dialect spoken in the Limpopo plain. The nkhontshana is the boy used by another man to satisfy his lust, and the man is called his *nima*, husband. When a gang of new workers arrives in a Compound, the Native induna, who has the supervision of the Compound, and the Native policemen, who have their rooms at the

nostrils and so keep it quiet during the whole operation. The milk is generally taken in a large wooden bowl. It is very seldom consumed as a liquid, but is *eaten* when thickened by coagulation. The fresh milk is poured into a calabash with an opening at the bottom closed by a cork : a certain quantity of whey has been kept in the calabash and this causes the fresh milk to curdle at once. When curdled but not yet set, it is called *shitjubi* and is eaten with spoons by men and women. But it is left to decompose : the whey *(mulaza)* soon separates from the thick part, which becomes entirely solid and is then called *ntjhwamba*. The cork at the bottom of the calabash is removed, the *mulaza* flows out freely and is drunk by the men and herd boys. The *ntjhwamba* is put into a plate and each man or woman, not having her *tihweti* (I. p. 187), approaches and takes a spoonful of it. A woman during menstruation must never drink milk, nor during her confinement or until her child has been presented to the moon (I. p. 52).

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The milk of the first week after a cow has calved is taboo. It must not be mixed with other cows' milk, because the umbilical cord of the calf has not yet fallen off. It can, however, be boiled and consumed by children, as they do not count! After that milk is never boiled : not that there is any taboo to fear, but it is not customary. Natives do not give any clear reason for these milk taboos. They have no objection to selling their milk to strangers ; on the contrary, they are so eager to make money out of it that they often add water to it, and any European having had dealings with them in milk matters would have his story to tell!

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Goat's milk is left for the herd boys ; men do not touch it.

II. *Other domestic animals.*

Besides oxen, the Ba-Ronga breed *goats* (mbuti, yin-tin), the care of which is relegated to the small boys (I. p. 62). Practically every one possesses one or more goats, whilst oxen are much more rarely met with.

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misfortunes to a very melodious tune (No. 8) which I once heard in Rikatla repeated a dozen times by children's voices along the bushy paths. The words were in Zulu and were said to mean : 533 539

Stones are very hard to break
Far from home, in a foreign land.

The tune is so catching that it has become quite popular even in French Switzerland, where I have had the opportunity of singing it on many occasions.

Once when I was walking after sunset in the neighbourhood of a miserable village of two or three huts in Rikatla, I was attracted by a simple melody repeated again and again by a feminine voice. A young woman with a child on her shoulders and engaged in cooking her food was singing. She had just lost her father. Her husband was a very bad character ; she had been obliged to leave him and to take refuge in her father's village, and, lo, he had died! Feeling lonely and abandoned by all her natural helpers, she was expressing her grief in a low tone by the following words sung to a tune full of sadness (No. 41).

Tatana a ndji siya	My father has left me !
Na ndji nga li na mumben !	And I had no other except him !
Ndji se pfanga libalen	I remain alone on the earth !
Sha ndji ta ya kwini mbuu !	Where shall I go then, Alas !

I am afraid Bantu lyrics have more than once found occasion to celebrate the selfishness and *rudeness of the White race* ! I remember travelling through the desert with three Zoutpansberg colonists, and some of their black servants. The White masters were not exactly gentle with their boys. A road had to be cut through the bush and it was hard work to remove the stones, and to cut down the trees. The shambock was sometimes resorted to in order to stimulate the Natives. I once heard one of them, who had just been castigated, murmuring in a low tone his monotonous complaint, whilst chopping at a stem. I caught the following words : (Tune 9) 533 539 609 466

Ba hi shanisa !	They treat us badly !
Ba ku hi hlupa !	They are hard on us !
Ba nwa makhofi !	They drink their coffee !
Ba nga hi nyiki !	And they give us none !

accepted another message." That is why men are subject to death. 773 825

This myth is so strongly believed that shepherds, when they see a chameleon climbing slowly up a tree, begin to tease it, and, when it opens its mouth, throw a pinch of tobacco into it, and are greatly amused to see the poor thing change colour, passing from green to orange, and from orange to black, in agony, to the great delight of the little boys ; they thus avenge themselves on the chameleon! (p. 339). 761

The same story is told amongst the Zulus, and other myths of a similar character are found all over Africa, especially amongst the Ba-Rotsi (1). It would be an interesting study to collect them all, and thus to compile the African Genesis. We should probably find that the origin of man and death are the two great subjects on which the imagination of the Bantus has tried to throw some light, and that, though the moral element is strangely lacking in these myths, yet there is a striking resemblance between them and the Biblical story, where an answer to the same questions is given. 171 773

II. *The various human races.*

Have Bantus a clear idea of the human race? What they call *banhu* in Thonga, *bantu* in Zulu, evidently means "black people," the first inhabitants of the country. The Zulus are regarded, owing to their military ability, as a superior race, not however to such an extent as they themselves believe to be the case! Whatever may be their hostility or repugnance to their fellow blacks, they know that they belong to the same species. I am not sure that they hold this idea regarding White people, who are not *banhu* but *balungu*. 609 829

What is the origin of this word? As it is also used in Zulu (abelungo), the etymology suggested is the verb *ku lunga*, to be right, good. White people would then be correct, nice people, to

(1) Compare *Foi et Vie*. Oct. 1910. Les Origines. A. Jalla.

½ [about the original cause of death. See p. 350, cat. 116-Analyst]

607 the Native (1). However complimentary to us this explanation
829 may be, I very much doubt its accuracy. Firstly, Black people have not generally such a good opinion of us. They admit our superiority in intelligence, but unfortunately have not always found that White people behaved correctly in their dealings with them. Secondly, when we compare the word balungu with *Ñwalungu*, North, *balungwana*, inhabitants of Heaven, (see Chapter II), and with *Mulungu*, the great name for God in Central Africa, we are led to suppose that there may have been ancient mythological traditions, now forgotten, relating to White people, when they were not yet well known.

773 To account for the superiority of the White race, Mankhelu
829 assured me he had heard the following story many years ago, told by his grandfather in the village of Shiluvane, long before the arrival of the missionaries. When Ñwali created the first man, from whom both Whites and Blacks are descended, they were all naked. Gwambe slept with his sister, an act which had been forbidden, and she had a child. Since that time children are born ; but this was not the intention of Ñwali, who wished to create adult human beings only! The Gwambe (first ancestor) of the White people showed respect to his father, who was naked, whilst the Gwambe of the Blacks did not ; hence the deterioration (onhakala) of the Blacks. "We were fools and have been deprived of everything, and Ñwali said : You Blacks shall wear down your nails to the quick by digging the earth to find food!" As already pointed out, Mankhelu had not the slightest trace of the critical sense. This is evidently the Biblical story very curiously transformed. The idea of an original fault committed by the Black race in the beginning having resulted in the inferior position it now occupies, is, however, met with in many parts of Africa, and is probably autochthonous amongst the Thongas.

"Balungu ba hlulwa hi lifu ntsena" has become a kind of proverb, quoted by Natives when they see the marvels of

(1) Others say that their forefather named the White people *balungu* because they were *clean* (lunga having also that meaning). "They are always clean though they do not wash their bodies! They have no dirt." But these explanations are not quite satisfactory.

civilisation and means : "White people are only overcome by death." I once heard a little boy muttering it when I was playing the harmonium.

Their notions regarding the several European races are very crude. Once when I asked one of them if he knew whence the Whites came, he told me : "The Portuguese came from the sea, the Boers from the mountains." — "And we, missionaries, who are neither Portuguese nor Boers?" — "You come from Heaven," he answered with a charming smile!

Pikinini, who knew how to converse with the cock, once told me what the Bilen people think of the Whites. It was just after the deportation of Gungunyana :

— "Gungunyana is dead. The Portuguese have eaten him!"

— "How is that?"

— "Certainly! The Portuguese eat human flesh. Every one knows it. They have no legs ; they are fishes (tinhlampfi). They have a tail instead of legs. They live in water."

— "Then how do they manage to fight with you and to beat you if they are fishes and have no legs?"

— "Ho! Those who come to fight against us are the young men ; they have legs. They take us and put us all in a steamer which goes far away, far away. This steamer reaches a large rock which is surrounded by water on all sides. This is their country. We are taken out and placed on an island, whilst the soldiers go and fire shots to announce to the great White men-fishes that we have arrived. They choose one of us and make a little cut in his little finger to see if he is fat enough ; if not, he is put into a big basket full of ground-nuts which he must eat in order to become fat. When he is fat enough, they place him in a big, elongated pot of the size of a man, and red-hot. We know these particulars because a man, Ngomongomo, gave us the full explanation. He had been caught, but on the road his gods helped him ; he was covered with an eruption of pimples which was so disgusting that he was left in the island, and brought back here. He saw everything. We first refused to believe that. Now we know that it is the truth!"

Evidently Pikinini was in earnest and these absurd ideas were

609 accepted as facts by the majority of his countrymen in Bilen. Is it not strange to notice that, whilst a great number of Europeans think of the Blacks as being all cannibals, these savages, on the other hand, believe exactly the same thing of us! Of course a closer contact with White people has already led them to a truer knowledge of what we really are, and they have discovered that, after all, there is not such a great difference between the various human races!

In former times the Thongas would seem to have believed that all White people, not only the Portuguese, dwelt in water. They were said to have eyes in front and behind and to see on all sides, so that it was impossible to escape from them. They used to kidnap Black people and take them away.

III. *The human body.*

1) Ideas of Anatomy.

815 826 The Thongas have never made an anatomic study of a human corpse. They have a riddle to this effect: "Ku pfura ndjilo mungema? — Ba lahla munhu wa ku fa." — "A fire of live coals? — They bury a dead man." As you never put your hand in the fire, so you would not touch a corpse. Nor have they ever made a post mortem examination! What they know of the human body is entirely derived from the inductions they have drawn from oxen, pigs and game which they cut open. Considering that the source of their knowledge is so indirect, one wonders that they have learnt so much of the human physical structure.

192 826 Having taught a little anatomy to the students of our Institute, I can bear testimony that they have names for most of the bones of the skeleton. *Pala* (dji-ma) means skull; *lihlaya* (li-ti), maxillary bone; *tinyo*, pl. menyo, teeth; *tshurri* (dji-ma), molar tooth (same word as mortar); *litlatla*, clavicle; *likhongotlo*, spine; *khatla* (dji-ma), shoulder blade; *shintjintji*, sternum; *shikangana*, extremity of the sternum; *libambo*, rib; (they believe there are *ten* ribs on each side!); *shikukwana*, humerus; *nkono* (mu-mi), cubitus;

identical with their image. This notion seems to be at the root of the fear they show of being photographed, as we shall see directly.

We see therefore that Thongas are not at all dogmatic on this subject. The soul is at the same time the breath, viz., something of the nature of the wind, the shadow, the image, the external likeness, or fashion of man as opposed to his flesh.

Whatever may be the original notion, they consider the human being as double and capable of unsheathing itself on certain occasions ; their conception on this point may throw more light on their ideas concerning the nature of the soul.

Some believe that the *unsheathing* always takes place during the night and that the soul comes back when its owner awakes ; this is, par excellence, the case in regard to witches, who unsheath by their magical power and bewitch people during the night, as we shall see. But, though the belief is not universal, some think that all souls go away (or die) during sleep. I heard a boy earnestly praying one evening that his soul might come back to him next morning! This is a kind of physiological normal unsheathing which is attended with no bad results. But a pathological unsheathing also exists, and is very dangerous. It may be caused by the photograph of a man being taken. Ignorant Natives [609] instinctively object to being photographed. They say : "These White people want to steal us (pepula) and take us with them, far away into lands which we do not know, and we shall remain only incomplete beings." When shown the magic lantern, you hear them pitying the men shown on the pictures, and saying : "That is how they ill-treat us when they take our photographs! (1)"

But the great and dangerous parting of soul and body, which causes certain death, is that which wizards operate by their magic charms. We shall study these strange conceptions in Chapter III. They firmly believe that such is the result of witchcraft ; so, when some one is dying, and the divinatory bones have revealed that the disease was caused by a certain *noyi* (witch or wizard), the

(1) The following reflection well illustrates the superstitious fear which Natives have of likenesses of the dead. Before the 1894 war broke out, I had gone to show the magic lantern in remote heathen villages, and people accused me of having caused the disturbance by bringing to life again (pfusha) men who had died long ago.

biha, is regularly used in Djonga to mean *sin*. It also designates the offensive substance which a child or careless person may have left on the path, instead of observing the sanitary regulations of Native villages. (I. p. 311.) But in addition to biha we have *dyoha* (Dj.), *doha* (Ro.), to commit a wrong, *hona* (Ro.), *onha* (Dj.), which means to spoil, but also to sin, and from which comes *shihono*, the true word for sin in Ronga. *Somboloka* means to be irremediably bad, crooked, like a stem which cannot be straightened. 192 183 577

On the contrary the adjective *nene*, corresponding to biha, contains three meanings: good, nice, and true, the derivate *bunene* designating rather goodness and beauty, and another derivative, *psinene*, truth; the verb used for to be good is *shonga* (Ro), or *saseka* (Dj.), and has both the moral and esthetic significance. *Ku lulama* is to be straight, like a stem, and the use of this word indicates a deep and clear sense of right doing. Many other expressions might be quoted, showing that the notion of moral good and evil is certainly present in the Native mind, quite independently of that of taboo. They also recognise the *conscience* (timpfalu), seated in the diaphragm (p. 361).

2) *Intercourse with Natives* proves the same thing. Though their ideas may differ from ours as regards what is good (1), they are undoubtedly moral beings, with a more or lees developed conscience. 183 577

3) Their *folklore* is the best and most objective proof that this is so. Vice is punished and virtue rewarded in all the tales which I have called *moral*, and they certainly contain a whole code of natural and elementary morality (p. 222). The pangs of conscience in a criminal are depicted in a wonderful fashion in Zili, for instance. [538]

However, it must be confessed that this morality is low, that it does not possess a very strong hold on the Native soul, and that the imperative of conscience is by no means the categorical

(1) The idea of charity is particularly low: charity is due only to relatives, or to clansmen, and not to foreigners. I remember a man of the Manyisa clan who nearly died near the lake of Rikatla, having been hurt when working on the railway; nobody took pity on him, because he belonged to another clan. He was saved by a converted woman, Lois, who had a wonderful understanding of the new principles of universal brotherhood. 577 609